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Sufism of Archipelago: History, Thought, and Movement

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Abstract

The development of Islam tend to shows the diversity according to the age and socio-cultural region of its adherents. This is the case with the development of Islam in the archipelago, which shows a diversity in the pattern of development of the teachings and religious aspects, along with the diversity of its society which includes various ethnicities and cultures. One such pattern of Islam is Sufism, the Islamic aspect which emphasizes the inner or esoteric aspects, based on the Sufi doctrine and comprehension. This paper focuses on the development of Sufism in the archipelago, viewed in terms of history, thought, and tarekat movements. The archipelago Sufism is studied in historical and socio-anthropological perspectives. Broadly speaking, it can be stated that Firstly, in the process of Islamization of the archipelago, Sufism acts as a media of Islamic society carried out by the Sufi in their preaching about the XIII century until the XVI century; Second, the development of Sufism in the archipelago in the XVII century until the XIX century experienced a shift in the pattern of development, role and movement. Their role is mainly to establish the spiritual aspect of religious life and development, but through the power and social communities of the tarekat they can also carry out social movements, especially in mobilizing the people's struggles against Dutch colonialism in the nineteenth century. Finally, the Sufism of Nusantara (Archipelago) that is netted in tarekat movements continues to show its wider role in the twentieth century. Some tarekat communities not only maintain religious traditions that are spiritual, but also work in education, economics, and politics. Thus, the contribution of sufism is very beneficial to society in general, both in order to fulfill their spiritual needs and worldly life.

Keywords: *Sufism, Tarekat, Islamization, and Socio-religious.*

Abstrak

Perkembangan Islam selalu menunjukkan keragaman sesuai zaman dan wilayah sosial-budaya masyarakat pemeluknya. Sebagaimana Islam di Nusantara menunjukkan keragaman pola pengembangan ajaran dan aspek keagamaan itu adalah seiring masyarakatnya yang meliputi beragam etnis dan budaya. Salah satu pola keislaman tersebut adalah sufisme, yakni aspek keislaman yang lebih menekankan segi batiniah atau esoterik berdasarkan faham dan ajaran para Sufi. Tulisan ini memfokuskan pembahasannya tentang perkembangan sufisme di Nusantara, baik dilihat dari segi sejarah, pemikiran, maupun gerakan-gerakan tarekat. Sufisme Nusantara tersebut dipelajari dalam perspektif sejarah dan sosio-antropologis. Secara garis besar dapat dinyatakan, bahwa *Pertama*, dalam proses islamisasi Nusantara, sufisme berperan sebagai media pengislaman masyarakat yang dilakukan oleh para sufi dalam dakwahnya pada sekitar abad XIII hingga abad XVI; *Kedua*, Perkembangan sufisme di Nusantara pada abad XVII hingga abad XIX mengalami pergeseran pola pengembangan, peranan maupun gerakannya. Peranan mereka yang terutama memantapkan aspek spiritual bagi kehidupan dan perkembangan keagamaan, tetapi melalui kekutaan serta komunitas sosial tarekat juga mereka dapat melakukan gerakan sosial, khususnya gerakan-gerakan sosial yang dimobilisasi seiring perlawanan-perlawanan rakyat Nusantara terhadap kolonialisme Belanda pada abad XIX. *Ketiga*, Sufisme Nusantara yang terjaring dalam gerakan-gerakan tarekat terus menunjukkan peranannya yang lebih luas pada abad XX. Beberapa komunitas tarekat bukan hanya mempertahankan tradisi keagamaan yang bersifat spiritual, melainkan juga bergerak di bidang pendidikan, ekonomi, dan politik. Dengan demikian, kontribusi sufisme akan sangat bermanfaat bagi masyarakat pada umumnya dalam rangka pemenuhan kebutuhan ruhaniah mereka.

Kata Kunci : *Sufisme, Tarekat, Islamisasi, dan Sosial-keagamaan.*

Introduction

Research on Sufism of archipelago (nusantara) means explanation of the development of Islam in the archipelago. Islam as a religion includes various dimensions, both teachings, thoughts, and life of its people socially, culturally, politically and so on. The development of Islam tend to shows diversity in accordance with the age and socio-cultural areas of its adherents. That is the case with Islam in the archipelago, which shows the diversity of patterns of development of the teachings and religious life in line with the diversity of the people of the archipelago itself, which includes a variety of ethnic and cultural. Thus, the meaning of Islam of archipelago in general is the pattern of Islam that grows and develops in people's lives in various regions of the archipelago.

Sufism is an aspect of various aspects of Islam, that emphasizes the inner or esoteric aspect based on the Sufi ideology and teachings. This aspect has historically been the distinctive religious, social and cultural facts of its adherents, and even Sufism in the history of the spread of Islam in the archipelago shows its stronger influence than the theological and legal aspects. The dominant factor of the strengthening of the influence of Sufism is the tendency of accommodation and acculturation by the Sufis to the religious and cultural communities of the archipelago. For the spreading of Islam such Sufis have ushered in the distinctive Islamic feature of the archipelago, or more synonymous with the mention of "Sufism of the Archipelago".

The Sufism of archipelago can be studied in various perspectives. But for general and popular knowledge it seems that through historical and socio-anthropological perspectives will be able to provide interesting information about the typology of Islamic archipelago. Based on historical perspective, it is clear that Sufism tend to colored the development of Islam in the

archipelago, from the beginning of the spread of Islam around the 13th-16th century or can be called the period of the sultanate, then the Dutch colonial period in the 17th century until the first half of the 20th century, and the period of Indonesian independence until now. The historical stage of the development of Sufism not only shows the changes about its role of influence, but also can be known various contributions of Sufis with their congregations (*thariqah*) in the development of Islam in the archipelago. Meanwhile, with a socio-anthropological perspective, the development of Sufism can be seen in the context of the local culture of its adherents. The several concepts and theories that are referred to in the discussion are sourced from those approaches.

This study focuses on the historical development of Sufism in the archipelago, from its beginning of Islamization in the region to its development in the contemporary period. This problem was developed based on the religious and social roles of the Sufis in several regions of the archipelago, scattered thoughts and teachings of *tasawwuf*, and their influence and connection with the culture of the Indonesian archipelago. In addition, it is also discussed about Sufism in the development of the congregation; Its influence in the local social-religious and cultural context; Their socio-political role faced the Colonial Government (Dutch and Japanese); And its development in the midst of the dynamics of Muslims at the beginning of the modern period and its development in the period of Indonesian Independence to the contemporary period, in particular based on local congregation movements. Therefore, this study refers to the main questions as follows: 1) How is the development of Sufism in the early period of Islamization of the archipelago?, 2) How is the development of Sufism in the archipelago in the Colonial period?, and 3) Why the development

of Sufisms of the congregations still displays its dynamics and popularity in the modern period and the period of Indonesian Independence ?

The study of "Sufism of Nusantara" is expected to be part of the treasury of Islamic Nusantara. The significance of this study is to introduce the history, thought, and movement of Sufism (tarekat) in its peculiarity as one of Islamization pattern in Nusantara region. Through this paper also aims for the wider community to understand the process of spreading the Sufism in the social and cultural context of the archipelago.

Sufism and Islamization of the Archipelago in XIII-XVI Century

Islam is widespread in the archipelago for the role of Sufis. In every region where Islam develops, both at the level of the kingdom and society, Sufism is always coloring the whole picture of Islam that appears. It is not too surprising to consider the theory of Islamization A.H. Johns, a western scholar who experts on islam in the southeast asia, explained that the Sufi masters most influenced in the Islamization of the archipelago, especially since the XIII century.

According to Johns Islam can not, and can never, firmly root its roots among the inhabitants of the archipelago, may not even be able to Islamize the rulers, if not massively broadcast by the Sufis. This, of course, is closely related to the characteristics of Sufism itself which tend to be flexible in addressing local religious beliefs and practices, which were still strongly influenced by pre-Islamic tradition and practice of belief. Among other aspects of teaching, such as jurisprudence, for example, Sufism is a part of Islamic teachings that is most consistent with local cultural adaptations. This is because Sufism emphasizes meditation practices to achieve a "degree of unity" with God - regarded as a form of perfection in religion-rather than

a shari'ah-imposed religious practice. In the context of the archipelago, especially in Java, Sufism is so easily accepted by society. Sufism in many aspects is in line with Hindu-Buddhist practices and worldviews. Therefore, A.H. Johns, concludes that Sufism occupied an important category in Islamic history in the archipelago.¹

Johns's view is indeed in line with the fact that the period when Islam began to gain a place in the archipelago, especially since the XIII century, sufism along with tarekat institutions was triumphant in religious intellectual discourse in the Muslim world. Names such as Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (w 1111), Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani (1166), Ibn 'Arabi (1240), are well-known sufs - as can be seen from years his death - in a historical timeline close to the time of the Islamization process in the archipelago. Similarly from the same historical age we also recognize names such as Najm al-Din al-Kubra (1221) and Abu Hasan al-Shadzili (w 1258) - the respective founders of the Kubrawiyah and Syadziliyah tarekat in Central Asia and North Africa - as well as other well-known Sufi names in the Islamic world.

Among some Sufi figures who live and play an active role in the spread of Islam in the archipelago, it is mentioned that Sheikh Abdullah Arif is a Sufi figure listed as one of the first Sufi proponents of Islam in Aceh. Sheikh Abdullah Arif is a non-native Acehnese migrant. Some sources mention that this Sufi figure is from Arab (Yemen). He came to Aceh with many other preachers, among them Shaykh Ismail Zaffi. In some accounts it is stated that he arrived in Aceh and spread Islam there in 1177.²

Due to the XIII-XIV century of Sufism of the archipelago found a new work of Sheikh

¹ A. H. Johns, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesia Literature and History", in JSEAH, 2, II, 1961, 10-23.

² Hawash Abdullah, Development of the Science of Sufism and Its Figures in the Archipelago (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlâs, 1980), 11.

Abdullah Arif entitled *bahrul lahut*, it is not too exaggerated if it is said that the style of thought that developed in this era of Sufism is *wujudiyah*. Though some say that the basis of the teachings of Sufism of Sheikh Abdullah Arif is *ahlus sunnah wal jamaah*,³ even also narrated once studied to Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jailani, but in some cases *bahrul lahut* reflects Shi'ite doctrines.⁴ Thus, the thoughts and teachings of sufism that live and thrive in the archipelago in XIII-XIV century is none other than *wujudiyah*. Such thoughts and teachings of sufism, even continue and live for the next few centuries in the archipelago. Subsequent Sufis such as Hamzah Fansuri, Syamsuddin Sumatrani, Abdurrauf Singkil, Burhanuddin Ulakan, Yusuf Makasari, and Siti Jenar were also suspected to develop similar thoughts and teachings of sufism.

The success of the Sufis in spreading Islam throughout the archipelago can not be separated from the magical stories. The Sufi (*wali*) became the most remarkable dream performer of the society. The Sufis are often told to have done strange deeds beyond reason (*supernatural*). In some ways the Sufis also succeeded in becoming the glue of society even the legitimator of a king. Observation of the guardian figures in turn makes the people of Nusantara move to respect their tombs, after they died. The tombs of the saints are often regarded as the poles of Mecca. The guardian tombs are also considered as a place to express the desires of the people. In contrast to the mosque, which seems to be gripping because of the empty, guardian tombs amuse the heart because of the presence of the observation. Basically the tomb is not a holy house where people worship God, but a place for pilgrimage. In the graves of the guardians of the community usually perform ritual prayers and meditate on themselves.⁵

Rituals or other social functions that also relate to Sufism in the Archipelago XIII-XIV is the Sufi as well as a person who legitimize the existence of kings in the Islamic kingdom of the archipelago. As mentioned a little earlier, according to Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, the king of Merah Selu probably converted to Islam after dreaming of meeting the Prophet. In the dream, the Prophet Muhammad ordered the king Merah Selu to recite two sentences of shahadah.⁶ The Prophet spat into the mouth of the Merah Selu in order to recite the shahadah. Later, the Messenger of Allah gave the name of Islam, Malik al-Saleh. Upon awakening from his sleep, this King can read the Qur'ân correctly until the end without learning.

In addition to the pilgrimage of guardians and royal legitimators, other religious rituals performed by the people of Nusantara XIII-XIV century is a big religious ceremony. After Islam became a religion adopted by the royal elite and the people, the royal party held various religious ceremonies in the midst of the life of its people. In Malay history is depicted on some religious ceremonies such as on the 27th day of the month of Ramadan, the feast of Eid al-Fitr, and Eid al-Adha. Indeed, these ceremonies have no direct connection to Sufism at that time. The ceremonies are closer to the traditions of the archipelago of Islamic archipelago that existed in the XIII-XIV century. But if traced the archipelago of Islamic archipelago then made Sufi leaders as a legitimacy of its existence. Thus, it does not include the possibility that the ceremonies of the great religious days are also made on the proposal of the Sufis.

³ Amin Che Ahmat, et al, «Islamic Weltanschauung in Bahr al-Lahut: The writings of Sheikh'Abdullah Arif».

⁴ Abdullah, Development of the Science of Sufism, 12.

⁵ C. Guilot and H. Chambert-Loir, «Introduction»

in C. Guilot and H. Chambert-Loir (ed.), Pilgrimage and Guardian in the Islamic World, trsl. Jean Coteau et al (Jakarta: Serambi, 2007), 14-15.

⁶ Russel Jones (ed.), Hikayat Raja Pasai (Kuala Lumpur: Fajar Bakti, 1987), 12-16.

The Development of Tarekat - Sufisms in XVII-XIX Century

Archipelago Moslem circumstances that continue to increase in the pilgrimage and their changing perceptions about it in turn is very influential on the development of tarekat in the archipelago. In fact, along with this, tarekat to grow rapidly in the archipelago. As explained earlier, at that time, Moslem Archipelago besides their pilgrimage also intend to study in Makkah. Undeniably, the intense growth in the archipelago of this era has a close link with the spirit of pilgrimage to Makkah. In Martin van Bruinessen's account, the Jawi community in Makkah is a jovial community, somewhat isolated from the surrounding people because most of them turn out to know only Arabic at a very modest level. The most learned of them learned to the great scholars of the time and then spread the knowledge and tarekat they had learned to the larger Jawi community, thus eventually spreading to the archipelago. Because of this process, the relatively small number of 'ulama in Mecca and Madinah had far greater influence in the archipelago. In the seventeenth century these scholars consisted of Ahmad al-Qusyasyi, Ibrahim al-Kurani, and the son of Ibrahim, Muhammad Thahir in Medina, who was indeed the most influential scholar and Sufi of his day. In the XVIII century, the Madinah scholar Muhammad al-Samman had the same influence among the people of the archipelago. In the mid-19th century, a native-Sufi scholar of the Archipelago, Ahmad Khatib Sambas in Makkah became the center of the Jawi people's main concern.⁷

The shaykhs in turn gave a shade to the development of tarekat streams in the archipelago in the XVII-XIX century. The largest tarekat streams in the archipelago in the XVII-XIX century are not separated from the encounter of the Jawi community with the

shaykhs in the Arab lands. Based on the tarekat gospel network, there are five most influential tarekat, namely the Qadiriyyah (Syekh Abdul Qadir Jailani), the Syattariyyah (Syekh Ahmad al-Qusyasyi and Syekh Ibrahim al-Kurani), the Sammaniyah (Syekh Muhammad al-Samman), the Naqsyabandiyah (Syekh Bahauddin an-Naqsyabandi), and the Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah (Syekh Ahmad Khatib Sambas).

The tarekat is a form of Sufi society. As a form of religious association, the tarekat has a distinct religious pattern. The forms of ritual and practice of the tarekat by its members find its socio-anthropological values, because it involves a series of creativities that constitute a culture, communication, and mobility involving human beings. From the researcher's perspective, this congregation has inadvertently become the value absorbed or internalized to its followers, so that it can be implemented on the actions and behavior in society.

In the history of the archipelago the tarekat not only recorded as a group of *dhikr* assemblies that only concentrate on the relationship with God alone and ignorant of the surrounding social circumstances. Unlike some people, who said that the tarekat is to be one of the causes of the decline of Islam, the tarekat in the archipelago has also quietly contributed greatly to the social order in society. As far as history is observed, there have been many struggles or oppositions committed by the tarekat against the occupiers of that time, such as the resistance of the Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah congregation in Banten 1888 and others. In fact, some tarekat is a group of people who feared the Dutch colonial government because of their resistance movements. In addition to fighting in the forms of political resistance, tarekat also recorded to have been an institution that protects the community, such as tarekat Syattariyyah in West Sumatra. Thus, it can be said that in addition to

⁷ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat* (Yogyakarta: Gading, 2014), pp 232-233.

having a religious function, certain tarekat also have political power. Charismatic Syaykhs will be able to play an important role in recruiting masses and in politics as well.

Sufism-Tarekat Movement in XX Century Archipelago: the Local Case in Priangan

The development of Sufism in the archipelago in the modern period or the XX century, among others can be learned from the tarekat movements in the area of Priangan, West Java. The congregations referred to are the Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Order (TQN) centered in Suryalaya, Tasikmalaya, the Idrisiyah Order in Pagendingan, Tasikmalaya, and Tijaniyah Order based in Garut. All three of these orders show their wide influence, not only around the central areas of their colleges, but the influence of these congregations also spread in other areas of Java and the archipelago.

The teaching and development of the Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Order (TQN) in Priangan was pioneered by Ajengan Abdullah Mubarrok since he studied tarekat to Sheikh Tolhah Cirebon from the 1880s. Then, in 1905 Abdullah Mubarrok founded Pesantren Suryalaya in Dusun Godebag, Cisero Village, Onderdistrict (District) Tarikolot, Pagerageung, Tasikmalaya. Another congregation that spreads in Java since the beginning of the twentieth century is the network of the Tijaniyah. As reported by G.F. Pijper that this congregation in 1928 has spread in Cirebon, Brebes, Pekalongan, Tasikmalaya, and Ciamis. Its spread in the area of Priangan itself, was firstly introduced by Ali ibn Abdillah al-Thayyib al-Azhari, an Arab scholar from Medina. At first he lived in Cianjur for three years. Then, he lives in Bogor. In both cities, he lives in the Arab village and works as a teacher at a madrasa belonging to his countrymen. Then, in 1928 Ali Abdillah moved to Tasikmalaya.⁸

⁸ G.F. Pijper, *Fragmenta Islamica: Some Studies on Islam in Indonesia Early XX*, Tudjimah (Jakarta: UI Press, 1987), 86-87.

Another *tariqa* order that has influence in proportion to the two congregations mentioned above is Idrisiyah. The distribution of this tarekat was first performed in Tasikmalaya. This spreading took place over the services of Ajengan Abdul Fatah, a scholar from Cidahu after he studied in Makkah (1924-1932).⁹ He obtained the *hirqah* (degree) teacher in this congregation from Sayyid Ahmad Sharif al-Sanusi in Jabal Abi Qubais, that is when Abdul Fatah studied in the Holy Land. Like the tarekat's name taught by Sharif al-Sanusi, basically the tarekat that Abdul Fatah followed was the Sanusiyah Order. However, he popularized his tarekat name with the Tarekat Idrisiyah because it was intended to avoid the suspicion of the Dutch Colonial Government which considered the Sanusiyah mainly in the North African regions to be much political and opposed to Western invaders.¹⁰ In addition, Abdul Fatah is only more interested in developing the teachings of Sanusiyah in the field of worship alone. Therefore, he set aside his ideology and political movements.

The dynamics of the tarekat can also be seen from its position in the midst of the current reform of Islam. It is known that the Islamic movement in Indonesia at the beginning of the twentieth century advanced in the Islamic reform movement. This movement, in general, stems from the efforts of Muslim leaders to revise Islamic traditionalism. They make changes in all aspects of the life of the people in accordance with the times. Their passion arises from the influence of the ideas and movement of reformers that have long developed in the Islamic world.¹¹ This movement seeks to purify the teachings of Islam by inviting the Muslims to submit to the Qur'an and Hadith.

⁹ Sya'roni, "The Dynamics of the Sages", 104-105.

¹⁰ Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Sanusiyah: a Study of Revivalist Movement in Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), 132.

¹¹ Especially in the Middle East, such as Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab (1778-1703) Movement in Saudi Arabia, popular with the Wahabi movement; the renewal movement Jamaluddin al-Afgani (1897-1839) and Muhammad Abduh (1845-1905) in Egypt.

The Sufi political tendency is evident from the fact that they have a huge influence among followers, so that their social forces have important political significance for the power of the colonial government. The power of influence of each tarekat is different. Similarly, the Naqsyabandiyah taraket in Cianjur can be followed by almost all the ferocity in this area. The situation was deliberately attempted by tarekat leaders to avoid problems with the Dutch.¹² At first they attract as many traditional elites and new elites as government officials. When the native officials join, the tarekat can carry out its activities safely and easily search for members from the lower layers. In addition, the participation of the elite succeeded in protecting the Naqsyabandiyah activities from the view of the colonial government, because the Dutch relied heavily on information received from the native elite.¹³

The reaction of the tarekat itself to Japan shows the different types of movement between one congregation and the other. As is evident from the tarekat movements in Priangan, until the end of the Japanese occupation, the TQN retained positions that lacked political function.

In the period of Independence, TQN Suryalaya community began to show its activities through the movement of ikhwan network building spread in the region of mursyid influence in rural and urban areas. The situation at the beginning of Independence was less secure (at least between 1949 and 1959), so the guests or prospective students who came to Suryalaya were very limited in time, so that only those living close to Pesantren Suryalaya alone could learn or practice wirid practices in the center of this congregation.¹⁴ However, TQN development efforts outside

Pesantren Suryalaya continue to take on the role of the talqin representatives who were appointed in the time of Abah Sepuh.¹⁵ Just since the early 1960s, in the security situation in East Priangan region began to recover, Abah Anom increasingly free to develop tarekatnya and began to gain support from the political elite. For example, Haji Sewaka Akbar, former Governor of West Java (1947-1952) and former Minister of Defense RI (1952-1953), they talqin to Abah Anom in 1961. Thanks to the support of this figure, allegations that Pesantren Suryalaya develop incorrect teachings began to decrease.¹⁶

Idrisiyah Pagendingan develops its community system through zawiyah-zawiyah¹⁷ based on the basis of student associations in areas of influence of this tarekat. The main activities in the form of tarekat and pengajian rituals are centered in mosques in the neighborhood there are a number of Idrisiyah followers. The mosques that are used as worship activities and tausiyah pengajian commonly claimed as the mosque Idrisiyah. In the mosques that every five-time prayer followed by worshipers in white robes and the implementation of sunnat rawatib prayer carried out in congregation. In addition, religious teachings are regularly held in the mosque (usually once a week on Friday nights). Content pengajiannya more emphasis on keidrisiyahan and followed the practice of dhikr and wirid Idrisiyah.

The Tijaniyah in the Independence period did not show much change in organizational

¹⁵ They are Ajengan Mukhtar (Banjarsari, South Ciamis), Haji Fakih (Majalengka), Abu Dullah (Ujung Berung Bandung), Ajengan Hidayat (Ciawi Tasikmalaya), Ajengan Endi (Cisayong Tasikmalaya), Ajengan Jarkasih and Ajengan Najamundi (Tasikmalaya Selatan). Sunardjo, Pesantren Suryalaya, 45.

¹⁶ Ibid., 47. Unang Sunardjo mentioned that Sewaka had issued a massive announcement of his support through the regional newspapers.

¹⁷ Zawiyah was originally an institutional system of religious education in the African region, which was commensurate with the pesantren in Java. But zawiyah is more focused on Sufi society with its education system and its tasawwuf based movement.

¹² Kartodirdjo, *Petani Uprising Banten* 227, 1888.

¹³ van Bruinenessen, *Naqsyabandiyah Order*, 108.

¹⁴ Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," in Harun Nasution (ed.), *Thoriqot Qodiriyah Naqsyabandiyah: Birthday Memories of 85th Suryalaya Pesantren (1905-1990)*, (Tasikmalaya: IAILM. 1990), 126.

development of the tarekat, except the expansion of influence and mobility of activities in its ritual system. Since the leadership of K.H. Ismail Badruzzaman (1971), Tijaniyah spread in the sub-districts,¹⁸ each led by a representative of muqaddam. Samarang sub-district is the base of Tijaniyah's influence with the highest number of students. Therefore, in addition to the development center of this tarekat domiciled in the district, in this area there are a number of pesantren. The spread of adherents outside the area of Garut, especially the Priangan region, include: Bandung, Cianjur, Tangerang, Karawang, Subang, Sumedang, Bogor, and other areas.

Until the end of the twentieth century, the Tarekat Tijaniyah community came from a very diverse social group, based on both the professional and the educational level. Based on the profession level, Tijaniyah students include traders, civil servants (government officials, teachers, and lecturers), workers, clerics and ustadz, and most of the farmers. Some of the educational background of tarekat students are graduates of SD / MI, SMP / MTs, SMA / MA, Higher Education, and more come from pesantren (salafiah). The diversity of these levels of education tends to lead to a classification of their cognitive knowledge. For example, it is classified as layman, santri, ulama, and scholar, which in turn can also distinguish the level of religious observance or awareness.¹⁹

Conclusion

Based on this study, it can be concluded as follows:

1. In the process of Islamization of the Nusantara, sufism played a role as a media

of community conversion made by the Sufis in his preaching around the XIII century to the XVI century. During that time, the target of the Sufis of the Sufi was the traders, local authorities, and the general public in various parts of the archipelago. The methods developed by the Sufis in preaching the esoteric teachings of Islam (batiniyah) are taken through the tarekat to adapt to the situation of belief and culture of the people of the archipelago. The methods of the Sufis vary according to their beliefs and their scientific capacity.

2. The development of sufism in the archipelago in the XVII century to the XIX century experienced a shift in the pattern of development, roles and movements. The Sufis for the development of its teachings have established a community system based on a pattern of patron-client through a series of ritual rituals and other social-religious-based Religious teachers. Their role is primarily to strengthen the spiritual aspect of religious life and development, but through the embassies and the utilization of tarekat social communities they can also engage in social movements, especially social movements mobilized in line with the resistance of the Nusantara people to the Dutch colonialism of the XIX century.
3. The development of the Nusantara Sufism netted in tarekat movements continued to show its wider role in the twentieth century. Some communees do not just maintain a religious tradition of spiritual nature, but also engage in education, economics, and politics. Thus sufism movement in this century always accompanies social and political dynamics, either through the internal activities of each of their tarekat and their activities that are interwoven with other religious movements such as Islamic organizations and other

¹⁸ Sub-districts in which there are Tijaniyah communities are Tarogong, Samarang, Singajaya, Pameungpeuk, Cisompet, Cikoneng, Bungbulang, Pasirwangi, Sukawening, Bayongbong, Cikajang, Nagrek and Garut Kota.

¹⁹ Moh. Najib, Tarekat Tijaniyah in Garut District (Religious Social Studies) (Bandung: IAIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 1994/1995), 78-79.

socio-political forces. The development of sufism like this can be evidenced by the development of several tarekat in Priangan.

Based on these conclusions, at the end of this paper it may be argued that Sufism in the archipelago has contributed to religious development (Islam), especially through their efforts to develop religious spirituality and morality based on the perspective of Sufism. Sufi contributions contribute to the balance of the inner life of society without them having to completely ignore external needs. Based on the contribution of sufism, it is imperative for sufism to develop, modify, and reactualize the teachings of tasawuf and practice of tarekat, especially in the fulfillment of spirituality as well as the improvement of society's morality in the present era of globalization.

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